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THE GREAT GIVEAWAY: TIMBER, GAS, NICKEL—AND WHAT NEXT?
For details on the plunder of public resources, see below and p. 8.

THE NATION

The natural gas robbery—what it will mean to you

By Lawrence Emery

WHETHER OR NOT natural gas consumers — some 30,000,000 of them — will pay from $40 to $50 a year more on their gas bills was being decided in the Senate last week. But there wasn't much in the newspapers about the bitter debate; John Foster Dulles and Grace Kelly were capturing most of the headlines.

Back of the big fight, which was splitting Democrats wide apart in a year when they most desperately needed party "harmony," was Big Oil with a potential stake in the outcome estimated by some Senators at $30,000,000,000. The bill under debate would exempt natural gas producers from federal price regulation at the wellhead. An inevitable consequence, say opponents, would be a rise in gas prices and a windfall to producers running to billions in the increased value of natural gas reserves.

THE OIL LOBBY: Democrats were doing most of the fighting among themselves while Republicans looked happily on. The bill is sponsored by Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) with the solid backing of Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex.). Supporting the measure are most of the Democrats from oil and gas states in the Southwest and Far West; opposing it are most of the Democrats from Northern and Eastern gas-consuming states.

A similar bill was adopted by narrow margins in 1950 but was vetoed by President Truman. Two years ago the Oil Lobby, one of the most powerful in Washington, began working for passage of the bill in this Congress; it has been charged on the Senate floor that the Lobby had a fund of at least $1,500,000 with which to influence opinion on the measure. Last year the House by a six-vote margin (209 to 203) passed the bill, but it took all the skill and prestige of Speaker Sam Rayburn to swing it. Last week columnist Drew Pearson explained his role:

> "The fact that Rayburn was for the bill was easy to understand. He comes from Texas. And the big oil boys have long been able to redistrict Rayburn's congressional district and defeat him if Sam doesn't go down the line for gas and oil."

JOE'S RIGHT IN THERE: Support for the bill by some Congressmen from consuming states was explained by the fact that the word was out in Washington that there would be sizable campaign contributions from the oil boys for those who voted right. Sen. Joe McCarthy (R-Wisc.), an old buddy of the Texas oil crowd, has defied almost his entire state delegation in supporting the bill. He says retention of price controls on natural gas would be "a step toward socializing our entire economy." But Wisconsin's senior Sen. Alexander Wiley has denounced the bill as "a sham and a farce, providing no real protection to consumers."

Sen. Lyndon Johnson himself used the McCarthy argument of socialism; he saw the issue as between the "democratic free enterprise system" and the "socialistic theory" of strict federal control.

600 MILLION GOUGE: Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill), as leader of the opposition to the bill, on Jan. 25 completed a four-day speech against it.

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WAR & PEACE

Behind the rejection of the Soviet bid for friendship pact

THE PRESIDENT'S rejection of Soviet Premier Bulganin's proposed 20-year Friendship Pact, coupled with the strong bipartisan support given his rejection, exposed the emptiness of the nation's current so-called foreign policy debate. At the same time the sterile rigidity of Western policy was again underscored.

In Washington, Bulganin's initiative was characterized as "superfluous" (since the UN Charter embraces the same principles), "wholly unrealistic," a "propaganda move" designed to "demobilize the West and split the allies," and "quell Western enthusiasm in curbing Soviet imperialism." With this now stereotyped reaction, Washington has for a decade rebuffed every Soviet initiative for better relations. The President's stated price for a relaxation of international tension (Soviet acceptance of Western terms for German reunification, acceptance of his "open skies" plan, restoration of capitalism in E. Europe, and lifting of the "iron curtain") embraced standard Cold War ultimatums, although in more moderate language.

A "TICKLISH QUESTION": Familiar, too, was the dismay created by what was termed Moscow's "new world peace offensive." The Kremlin's new leaders, complained the N. Y. **World Telegram** (1/28),

> ". . . are diabolically clever in keeping the Western world in a perpetual dither. The West is kept so off balance reacting to Soviet maneuvers it has almost no breathing spells for keeping its own house in order."

The N.Y. **Post** (1/27) said Washington faced a "ticklish question": how to rebuff the Soviet move "without at the same time giving the impression that this country is not interested in friendship with the U. S. S. R.?" Outright rejection, diplomats agreed, would put the U. S. in an unfavorable light among the "neutral" nations. Yet failure to rebuff the move quickly, Washington feared, would give the impression that the Soviet proposal had substance and would generate public demand for a favorable reply. To Washington, a favorable reply was unthinkable and no one suggested it. This was a demonstration, if one were needed, that the policy of strength rests upon enmity towards a large part of the world. The President's reply, while leaving the door slightly ajar for further communication, was in effect an outright rejection.

BILATERAL TALKS: The standard rebuff could not, however, conceal the

(Continued on Page 4)

Even a boy's fiddle worries the Imperial guards

The scene is Cyprus, where Britain "has created a shambles and called it a base." The Lord Provost (Mayor) of Glasgow has joined MP's in objecting to the sending of teen-age Scot conscripts to the strife-torn island. The London "News Chronicle" reported a "wave of protest" by mothers.

THE MAIL BAG

Emanuel Bloch

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

January 30 is the second anniversary of Emanuel Bloch's death, calling to mind these words:

Mourn not the dead . . .
But rather mourn the apathetic throng
The cowed and meek
Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong
And dare not speak.

The hearts of "Mannie" Bloch and Vito Marcantonio were stricken as if by lightning bolt, leaving them dead in the field of honor, in combat for their principles and for our common weal.

In tribute to Emanuel Bloch and to our paper I enclose six months' advance payment ($30) to my pledge. **Muriel I. Symington.**

Time, gentlemen!

BROOKLINE, MASS.

I'd like to say, apropos of the current philosophical discussion in the GUARDIAN (Petran) that it's getting to be a bit of a bore—we all know that a depression is coming sooner or later. In the meantime let's spend what time and energy we have in doing something immediate to influence the programs of whatever candidates we can reach. It seems to me this whole discussion is just a diversion—meanwhile Rome burns. It's getting late, friends.

One last comment: I read most of the journals quoted, and in all fairness, Tabitha is taking quotes out of context, which is slightly not nice. **Ethel Alper**

The Israel censure

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

What presumptuous gangsters we Western Powers are, to be censuring little Israel in the UN for a small border clash with Syria over the disputed Sea of Galilee—when at the same very moment Britain was torturing Africans and hurling 2,000 troops through the air to smash down the independence of Cyprus. And France was mopping up the freedom-loving Algerians and Moroccans. And the profit-loving oligarchy of the U.S. was aiding and abetting both and massing men, battleships and atomic-loaded planes on faraway China's coast to "protect" the "American way of life." **Marvin Dunn**

Recalls McKinley

VISTA, CALIF.

Am enclosing $5 for the ensuing year, as on account of the heat wave of Aug. and Sept. can't afford any more. As of now, have to live worse than One Buck a Day under McKinley. Parisites take notice. **Wm. La Rue**

Needed crop

YARMOUTH, ME.

Is a new party or any party more important than the needs of the people? Let's put the following needs above party:

First, peace the right way by friendly, understanding. Enfranchisement of thousands of citizens by Federal law and enforcement of same. Do away with all fascist laws and release all political prisoners with compensation. Federal power and flood control dams—a real job. State or Federal medical and hospital care.

I am sure we can all say, with Dr. DuBois, let's restore democracy to America. But in planning, let's not forget that it takes the average farmer two years to prepare the soil for a good crop. **Chester E. Thompson**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The lack of information or facts is no deterrent to a good argument.
—Educator Leonard Riggleman, to the Speech & Theater Conference as reported in Chicago **Daily News** (12/30/55).

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clipping with each entry.

Honor among capitalists?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

There appeared in a recent issue of the GUARDIAN a mock reprint of a capitalist slogan: "Honor the profit system and it will honor you." Mockery is not enough; it must be shown clearly and simply how shamelessly hypocritical it is for capitalists to use the word honor.

Does the profit system honor the people when it distorts and brutalizes the thinking and creativeness of hundreds of thousands of children and teen-agers, literally driving them to delinquency and crime?

Does it honor the people when it stands criminally inactive while southern white racists murder Negroes to keep them from voting, and go free to murder again?

Does it honor the people when it openly engages in organized strike-breaking, shooting and murder, and backs up its union-busting with machine guns, tanks and troops?

Does it honor the people when it systematically persecutes and slanders minority political parties to keep the people from hearing their ideas, arguments and proposals?

Does it honor the people when it continuously hangs over their heads the threat of atomic world war with the military debacles of Korea, Viet Nam and Formosa?

Juan Trabajador
(Joe Worker to you)

Let's orbit 'em

OLATHE, COLO.

In all seriousness I say the earth is on the defensive and we are passing up the chance of our lifetime to use a little strategy to outwit our rulers. At one time in the past year Washintgon, D.C., was so jittery about so many flying saucers orbiting that territory that they had about all available jet fighters out chasing saucers. One publisher reported that he received 700 saucer sightings in one week and then the State Dept. banned saucer news. You can see what an easy job it would be to report saucers, keeping them busy chasing saucers and off of us. Readers could send in saucer news to you and see if it doesn't ease the tension. **Reader**

Science and witch-hunts

NEW YORK, N. Y.

All the N.Y. papers are moaning and groaning about the shortage of science teachers. At the same time over 40 science and math teachers have left the system in New York City alone because of the witch-hunt. Another 200 or more in other subjects have left for the same reason.

The Board of Education witch-hunters keep right on going. More people are being called in for questioning. Others are being pushed against the wall to inform. Of the five teachers now under suspension for refusal to inform, one is a teacher of radio and electronics, one is a physics teacher and one is a biology teacher. A fourth is a principal with an outstanding record. **A Reader**

Democracy in chains

DETROIT, MICH.

In our South the Negro nation remains in chains—suffering many of the abuses that are common to colonial and semi-colonial areas. As long as this shameful condition exists, how can the U.S. be coupled with the term Democracy? **Eino Hiltunen**

Multiply or die

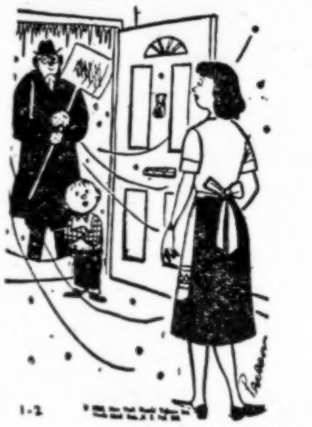
FAIR GROVE, MO.

Would hate very much to do without the GUARDIAN. America needs 100 million readers of the GUARDIAN instead of so many readers of lying dailies. Keep up the good work. I heartily approve of what you are doing. We need more fighters for civil liberties: before we lose them all. **George T. Long**

Write, complain

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

The UAW-CIO in Detroit has for some months been running an excellent radio program called the "Eye-Opener." But immediately after the AFL-CIO merger, it degenerated into a red-baiting program AFL-CIO members should write immediately to Guy Nunn, radio director, Solidarity House, 8000 E. Jefferson Av., Detroit 14, Mich., and complain. Also write Walter Reuther. **Charlotte Purefoy**



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"My teacher wants to shovel our walk! Ford Foundation aid didn't include P. S. 65."

God helps those . . .

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A column in the weekly paper of the Czech Brethren Church called "Do You Do This, Too?" is devoted to wrong behavior. It asks "Do you do this?" and then describes people who do not greet their neighbors in church or don't take an interest in sick members of the congregation, etc.

This time it was the local pastor who was supposed to advise a farmer who came to him, troubled by the question whether he should join the co-op. The farmer's wife was ailing, he couldn't keep up with the work, and all the pastor could say to him was that God's ways are inscrutable and he is being tested.

The tenor of the article was that the pastor did wrong in not advising the farmer to join the co-op and keep in step with the times. I am casting around in my mind for a convincing way of saying that these religious people would astonish their counterparts in the West by the way they sincerely—often enthusiastically — cooperate with the present government and condemn those who drag their feet. **Eleanor Wheeler**

Co-exist and save

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

An article published by A. G. Lunts in the Journal of the USSR Academy of Science in 1950 solved a number of key problems in the area of electrical circuits and networks. The existence of this article and its solution were overlooked in this country until 1955, while substantial efforts were made by U.S. scientists and engineers to solve the problem that the Soviet author had already solved. The cost of this operation by U.S. industry was considered to be $200,000 and five years lost. **A Friend**

Reply requested

WARSAW, POLAND

I am a young Polish teacher—24 years old, owning the university education and loving your land, nation, your literature, authors and poets—Whitman, London, Emerson, Dreiser, Thoreau, Twain, Bret-Harte, Irving, O'Neill, Poe, etc., and above all I am loving your language.

In connection with this—of an opportunity of "New Year," I should like to greet the American nation. I greet the American working class and the peasants—the students and the intelligence and, above all, the American youth.

At the same time I should like to correspond with the American youth. Please advertise in your newspaper my address.

Wawrznczak Zygmunt
Rozan n Narwia
ul. Sienkiewicza 38
woj. Warszawa, Poland

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"When you are mounted on the back of a tiger, it is hard to get off."—CHINESE PROVERB.

The Pope is changing

The following comment, by "Benelux," appeared in the Rome daily, Paese Sera, *Dec. 29, 1955.*

NOW THE AMERICANS are even putting the Pope in his place. It seems that Eisenhower and Dulles have examined the Pope's Christmas message and have concluded that ". . . the Vatican policy is substantially in accord with that of Washington." NOT—mind you—that the policy of Washington is in accord with that of the Pope. Apart from the fact that their statement is a lie, by putting it the other way, they would at least have acknowledged the position of the chief figure of Christianity. But no, they wouldn't do such a thing.

It seems that in order to please the Americans, it is the Pope's duty to adapt his orientations to those of Washington. The Pope had better watch out—if Foster Dulles discovers that the Vatican does not agree with him, who knows what will happen? Perhaps the Americans will excommunicate the Pope?

Meanwhile, however, the American press openly states what the politicians are saying in more veiled terms: that the proposal of Pope Pius XII to suspend nuclear experiments is not in accord with American desires.

Along with all others who do not think exactly as Foster Dulles and Ambassador Luce—Reds, Communists, savage Bolsheviks and other enemies of Western Civilization—so Pope Pius XII also runs the risk or being included in this exalted company. WE WILL ALL BE DAMNED TOGETHER!

LET THE POPE ACT LIKE A POPE, the Americans seem to say. He ought to stay out of things that don't concern him. Let him bless not those **he** wants to, but those **we** want him to.

Another strange thing! In looking through the Vatican and Russian newspapers, one finds that they are arguing about which of them was the first to initiate action in the cause of peace. "It was us," say the Cardinals. "No, it was us," reply the Soviets. And we, without getting involved, are pleased by this type of argument.

The great Powers, only yesterday, were hurling accusations at one another of unleashing a war, or of wishing to unleash one. Now, each one prides himself on having unleashed peace. We, the little people, hope that the new argument continues.

And so, oddly enough, we find that today we have done nothing less than come to the defense of the Pope. If one admits that the Pope needs such a defense, we are very glad to be able to give it.

We are very glad that the Pope is changing, along with us and the rest of the world.

"Flashlight"

PALO ALTO, CALIF.

The active threat to world peace presented by the current situation in South Korea is strikingly described in the December issue of **Flashlight**, monthly publication of the Palo Alto (Calif.) Peace Club. This compact little periodical seeks to supplement the knowledge of peace campaigners through well documented analysis of relatively neglected aspects of world developments.

A subscription to **Flashlight** may be obtained by sending $1 to P.O. Box 205, Palo Alto, Calif. Single copies of current or back issues may be had at 10c apiece. **V. J. B.**

Maximum for all

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The Social Security system as conceived is socially and morally wrong and should be revised. At present it is based on the earnings, but the just way would be on the hours worked. Furthermore, everyone receiving Social Security benefits should receive the maximum permitted. There should not be any exceptions allowed. Why penalize someone who needs the full Social Security to exist on but must suffer because he hasn't earned enough during his useful years? Some people have paid for 1½ years and receive maximum benefits and others who have paid for 20 years may receive minimum benefits. It's out of proportion, like a lot of other things in our free enterprise system. **Vee Emess**

Uphaus: First not Fifth

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

I do appreciate your having put a story about my New Hampshire fight in the GUARDIAN. This will help spread the news and the concern. The writer made one mistake—rather serious—in the interpretation. My action is based on the First and not the Fifth Amendment. Making the stand on the basis of the free exercise of religion has meaning only in relation to the First. **Willard Uphaus**

NEW YORK

RALLY for justice in MISSISSIPPI

Wed., Feb. 8, 8 pm MANHATTAN CENTER 34th St. & 8th Av.

PRINCIPAL SPEAKERS:

Mrs. Andrew W. Simpkins
South Carolina NAACP
LYMAN BEECHER STOWE
DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

See ad on page 9 for details

In memory of Emanuel Bloch — who gave his heart for justice

Emanuel H. Bloch, who fought so valiantly to save the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg as their attorney, died on Jan. 30, 1954, at the age of 52. At his funeral service, perhaps the profoundest picture of Manny was given by Gloria Agrin, who worked side-by-side with him on the Rosenberg Case. She also was one of the attorneys who tried to prevent the deportation of Cedric Belfrage. On this second anniversary of Manny's death, we reprint her remarks.

I SPEAK TO YOU as one who lived, hour by hour and minute by minute, the three and one half years of his most vital living and the three and one half years of his dying—but for the moment of his death which he faced alone. As the world, as all of you, I loved Manny most profoundly. To so many he was a great man, monumental as the pillar of strength which he was, carved in the image of greatness that each one saw in his own eye. But his true greatness, which I have seen, was in what he really was.

Manny was not so much a man of steel, as a man of flesh.

Even the steel in him was compounded, not of hardness, but of the softness and sweetness of life. It was primarily of love for people and hurt for their sufferings. It was music that tore at the heart. It was writing and art that spoke greatly of the life he experienced. It was the caress of an evening in the spring.

THE FLESH of him was cast in the mold of the finest in humanity. He was proud in aspiration but humble—so unassuming—in achievement. His conscience was wide and deep and honored by him even at the cost of much anguish to himself. His honesty was inviolate and always the measure of his thought and conduct. He was generous to a fault if full open-heartedness and open-handedness are human faults. He had no love of material things and his spiritual attachments were the real core and center and meaning of his life. Without these, he would not have been Manny Bloch, and without them Manny Bloch could not have lived.

I know that if Manny could hear me, he might like what I have said—to know, as I believe he did, that I respected and admired as well as loved him—but he would also say that so far I have said nothing, because I have not fulfilled my obligation to give you a guide to live by, a pattern to think with, a course to act on. I am satisfied that Manny's living and his death were implicitly all of these. But he had a love of words and a confidence that once spoken, they could move worlds. For him I say to you what he would have said:

"We must be unafraid to struggle for what is right. We must not live on our knees, but stand to fight in dignity and self-respect."

ETHEL ROSENBERG wrote in poetry her own epitaph, loved by Manny, which is Manny's too, although too soon spoken:

"Earth shall smile, my son, shall smile,
and green above your resting place the killing end,
the world rejoice in brotherhood and peace."

Manny, you died too soon. Too soon to take your full measure of joy from life. Too soon to finish tasks that were yours still to do. Give us the strength to do them. And rest content, we were satisfied with you. Goodbye.

HE'LL DIG ROOTS ELSEWHERE

Don West forced to leave 'The Southerner' and Dalton

By Elmer Bendiner

DON WEST, PREACHER, poet and editor, drove out of Dalton Ga., last week, using his pistol to fire at the tires of his pursuers. He had been driven from his church and his paper; he was looking for another place to dig in and fight for the New South.

West has sung about that South in poems (**Clods of Southern Earth, The Road is Rocky**) and fought for it on picket lines. Early last year he became a lay preacher in the Church of God. The Church, headed by the Rev. C. T. Pratt, has members in eight Southern states. In Dalton, alone, some 2,000 come to their singing mid-week services.

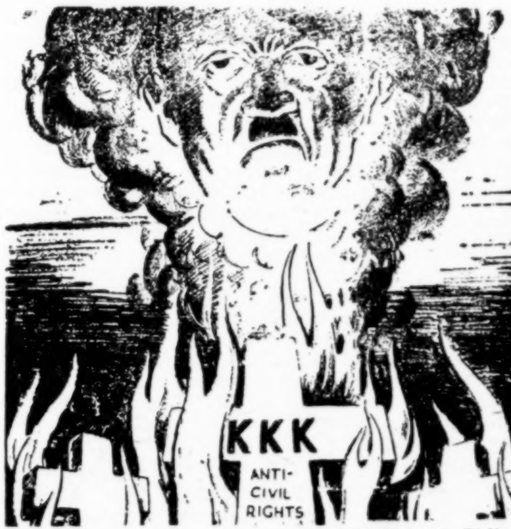
It was West's kind of religion. He joined preacher Pratt in founding a monthly paper, the **Southerner**, last May which said in its first editorial:

> "Our policy is based on and guided by love for truth and people. We believe that a potentially powerful and potent force for saving the American ideal lies with the common poor white man of the South. With him, and this cause, we identify ourselves. With this spirit we seek to go forward toward a new South and a greater America."

SUPPORTED THE UNION: In going forward the **Southerner** and the Church of God collided almost immeditely with the General Latex and Chemical Corp. which was then resisting an organizing drive by the Textile Workers Union of America. The **Southerner** openly supported the drive, backed the men who were fired for union activity. (Unorganized workers in the chenille plants around Dalton start at 80c an hour.)

The Dalton **News & Citizen,** owned by a public relations man for one of the chenille mills, answered for the companies with an "expose" of West's "subversive" activities. Among the evidence: a quote from the GUARDIAN greeting the first issue of the **Southerner.** The mills posted the editorials on their bulletin boards, warned workers against West, passed out questionnaires which asked: "What is your church affiliation?" By October, 56 workers had been fired from the Dalton Mills; all had said they belonged to the Church of God.

THE KEY TARGET: The front plate-glass window of the **Southerner's** office was shattered by hoodlums in a night attack. A grand jury was set up to investigate "incidents of violence," including an "explosion" that disturbed a square foot of a plant manager's lawn; but no mention was made of the attack on the **Southerner.** It was plain that West was the key target and the **News & Citizen** filled its columns with excerpts from reports of the House Committee on Un-American Activities describing West's earlier struggles for sharecroppers' rights.



..ie Southerner, Dalton, Ga.

UNDER ANY NAME THE SAME
Why they hated the paper

DON WEST
Something is always learned

Up to Jan. 12 Preacher Pratt, the church and the union stood solidly behind West. The union invited West to speak at its Christmas party in Dalton.

On Jan. 11 the **News & Citizen** published a six-page supplement recapitulating their charges, rumors and slanders against West. That issue plainly had its effect on Preacher Pratt, though later he traced what happened to a "vision" he had the night of Jan. 11.

CHARLIE PRATT SAYS: Preacher Pratt, at 75, had come a long way since 1921 when he founded his church in a little box-like building on half an acre of land. The church and Pratt were going concerns now with extensive farm holdings, cattle herds, a stockyard and auction business. The **Southerner** regularly ran folksy "Charlie Pratt Sayings." The November sayings box included these:

> "A man that will fight organized labor has no God in him."
>
> "They're not against Don West. They're against the SOUTHERNER and the truth it's telling."

On Jan. 12 Preacher Pratt called a public meeting to be broadcast over the Dalton radio. He said his vision of the night before bade him insist that all his preachers take a non-communist oath there and then. Pratt then called the County Solicitor Ervin Mitchell, who was conveniently located in the audience, to administer the oath. The editor of the **News & Citizen,** Mark Pace, was at hand to act as witness.

Before the meeting West had agreed to take the oath but the presence of officials was a surprise. Still, he agreed. Solicitor Mitchell took the mike and announced he would administer the oath to every one but West who, he said, would have to take it before the grand jury. West agreed to that, too. Then the Solicitor said West would have to also waive all his rights under the Fifth Amendment.

CONSCIENCE-BOUND: With the radio microphones wide open, West asked Pratt if he supported the Solicitor's demand. When Pratt said he did, West said there was nothing left but to resign from the church. Later West told Alfred Maund of **Federated Press:**

> "I told them such a position was impossible for one who understood the implications. I could neither live with my conscience nor be loyal to the Constitution if I agreed in advance to waive its privileges."

That night, as West drove out of Dalton, two cars maneuvered to drive him off the road. West had carried a pistol ever since the **Southerner's** window was smashed. He reached for it and fired at the tires of one of the cars. The pursuers gave up.

In Montgomery, Ala., last week West said he was hoping to start a new publication that would take up where the **Southerner** left off. He told Maund:

> "Every good fight you make, win or lose, accomplishes something."

THE WATKINS DECISION

Probers are limited on contempt actions

THE U. S. COURT of Appeals last week jolted inquisitors by affirming a truism: the business of Congressional committees is legislation, not witch-hunting.

In April, 1954, John T. Watkins, organizer for the United Auto Workers, was called before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He testified he had "cooperated" with the Communist Party from 1942 to 1947, although he had not been a member. He drew the line at all questions concerning his associates, and told the committee:

> "I do not believe any law in this country requires me to testify about persons who may in the past have been Communist Party members or otherwise engaged in Communist Party activity but who to the best of my knowledge and belief have long since removed themselves from the Communist movement."

CONVICTED OF CONTEMPT: Chairman Harold H. Velde (R-Ill.) directed him to answer. He refused; in November, 1954, he was indicted for contempt of Congress. Last May he was found guilty and sentenced by Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy to one year in jail and a $500 fine. The jail term was suspended.

Last week the Appeals Court, by a 2-1 vote, threw out that conviction. Chief Justice Henry W. Edgerton, with the concurrence of Judge David L. Bazelon, said:

> "If we were obliged to decide what the committee's purpose was in asking the questions, we might be forced to conclude the committee asked them for the sole purpose of exposure. . . . It is very questionable whether exposure of individuals to public contempt is a valid legislative purpose."

"ASININE" TO JOE: Judge Walter M. Bastian dissented, charging that the majority decision was an "interference with the legislative prerogatives and violates the doctrine of separation of powers."

It was clear that if Congressional committees were to be required to stick close to their legislative functions, the witchhunt would be badly hobbled and many pending contempt of Congress cases would be overturned. The government was expected to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court.

Over the week-end several members of the Un-American Activities committee protested and were joined by Sen. William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) Sen. McCarthy called the decision "asinine" and said Judges Edgerton and Bazelon should be brought before a Congressional committee for questioning.

War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

fact that the world has burst out of the Cold War straitjacket and that Cold War ultimatums no longer apply, if they ever did. The Soviet offer of a friendship treaty with the U. S. is in line with Soviet policy, since the failure of the four-power foreign ministers conference, of seeking bilateral talks and agreements. British-U. S. S. R. talks will be held in London in April. French-U. S. S. R. talks, canceled last fall, may be considered again once a French government is formed. In W. Europe the Bulganin offer was interpreted as a move toward securing eventual bilateral talks with Washington.

The Bulganin-Eisenhower exchange, on the eve of top-level Anglo-American talks, highlighted the decline of Anglo-American dominance in world affairs and showed that London and Washington are no longer able unilaterally to regulate the affairs of even the so-called "free world," much less to quarantine it from the rising influence of the socialist states.

Prime Minister Eden's journey to Washington was originally undertaken because of the acknowledged need to shape a new Western policy to meet changed conditions since Geneva. But it was clear, as the Eden-Eisenhower talks opened in Washington, that no such new policy was in the making. These problems were under discussion:

MIDDLE EAST: The West here faced the basic difficulty that, as **Business Week** (1/21) pointed out, "the feudal pattern . . . the thing on which British control rested" is being steadily undermined. Coming to the fore in all these countries is an awakened middle and professional class which shares

> ". . . an ambition to establish governments that will serve its interests; a burning desire to get rid of Western political control; and a growing resentment of Western control over the region's vast oil resources" (**BW**).

Erosion of the feudal pattern threatens Britain—in the absence of a reorientation of its policy toward neutralism—with economic disaster. Without Middle East oil, Britain's balance of overseas payments would swing into the red by about $1 billion or more (**BW**). Loss of its Middle East positions would strip Britain of its great power status, just as France has already been reduced to a second rank power by loss of its empire and its participation in the Cold War.

PROFITS IN OIL: The Western stake in the Middle East is suggested by the fact that Anglo-U. S. oil companies alone have in the past eight years taken $2.5 billion worth of oil from beneath its sands (**Newsweek**, 1/23). Western accusations that Soviet leaders are "intensifying hatreds and animosities" (as Eisenhower charged in his letter to Bulganin) refer to their statements which point out that this wealth, "flowing into the vaults of British, American, Dutch and French banks," belongs to the people of the Middle East who "live in poverty" (Soviet CP leader Khrushchev).

WELL, DON'T WORRY, CHARLEY, WE STILL GOT FRANCO
Joint Chiefs chairman Adm. Radford and Defense Secy. Charles Wilson

Official perspective on the Eden-Eisenhower talks were curiously negative. There was little expectation that they would produce a co-ordinated policy or even make much of a pretense of resolving Anglo-American differences. But some sort of economic aid program designed to counter expansion of trade and diplomatic relations between Middle East countries and the socialist states was under consideration. The difficulties it faces, from the West's Cold War point of view, are illustrated by Egypt's warning last week that it will reject Western help in building the Aswan Dam if that help in any way restricts its freedom to accept Soviet help. "Egypt has many vital projects," a Cairo spokesman said (N. Y. **World-Telegram**, 1/26). "If Russia gives us money, we would be able to carry out these projects. So why shouldn't we accept Russian loans?"

CHINA: Despite the urgency of a Far East settlement, Britain has already indicated that it will continue to back Washington's provocative stand toward China, at least until after the U. S. elections. Eden will, however, press for an easing of the embargo (which is increasingly hurting Britain and some Commonwealth countries). British sources have warned that if the U. S. does not agree, it will act on its own.

H-BOMB AND DISARMAMENT: Strong popular pressure in Britain for restrictions on H-bomb tests will force Eden to raise this question. But Secy. Dulles, on the eve of the talks, re-stated Washington's refusal to consider any such restrictions. Nor was there any sign that the U. S. will modify its strong opposition to disarmament. This, despite the Pope's appeal and despite the fact that, as the **Christian Science Monitor** pointed out (1/24), the President's much touted "open skies" plan has "boomeranged." Even the U. S.'s "free world allies" are "lukewarm or cool," said **CSM**, while "neutralist opinion has verged on outright hostility."

MOVES IN GERMANY: Even as London and Washington moved to shore up their Cold War positions, these positions were further undermined by changing world forces moving into new roles and relationships. India's new stature in world affairs was apparent, for example, in W. Germany. There hints were being dropped that closer W. German-Indian relations may have an impact on Bonn's foreign policy and lead to a shift in its orientation.

The influential **Die Welt** of Hamburg, suggesting the possibility of a meeting between Chancellor Adenauer and Indian Prime Minister Nehru, emphasized Nehru's "independent foreign policy," hinting he might contribute to solving the problem of German reunification. Bonn Vice Chancellor Bluecher, on a recent trip to India, told the Indian press that Bonn would not regard it as interference if India were to use its good offices in Moscow in the interests of German reunification. Back in Bonn, he denied he had discussed the possibility of German neutrality in New Delhi; but the denial hardly accorded with his statements in India.

THE MIDDLE-MAN? The Adenauer government is currently trying to block recognition of E. Germany by India, Egypt and other "neutrals," threatening to break relations with any nation that does recognize. But, as the N. Y. **Post** pointed out (1/9), "there isn't a hard-headed diplomat or politician who believes that Adenauer can make this warning stick very long."

CSM (1/25) reported Indian recognition of E. Germany to be "both logical and imminent." E. Germany's widening economic relations with Middle Eastern and Asian countries point to eventual recognition. Meanwhile, E. German Premier Grotewohl's recent visit to China, Outer Mongolia and N. Korea, and the trade deal he concluded with China, have made E. Germany appear to be the middleman for China's transactions with W. Europe. At least that is the way it seems to W. German industrialists who are anxious to get in on the China market. E. Germany's status as an independent state has been enhanced by creation of its own army and its inclusion in the Warsaw Alliance.

These forces are giving impetus to a move in W. Germany toward some sort of settlement with E. Germany. E. Germans are pushing a plan for reunification which would leave the economic structure of each part of Germany much as it is. The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (1/30) reported that as a result of this and other factors the idea of a settlement between E. and W. Germany "is making extraordinary strides in many circles in W. Germany, even in the anti-Communist stronghold of West Berlin."

The friendship treaty draft

Following is Soviet Premier Bulganin's draft of the proposed 20-year Friendship Pact with the U. S.:

ARTICLE I

The contracting parties will develop and strengthen, in the spirit of sincere cooperation and mutual understanding, friendly relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the United States of America on the basis of equal rights, mutual respect for state sovereignty, and non-interference in internal affairs.

ARTICLE II

The contracting parties have agreed, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, to settle all their international disputes by peaceful means.

ARTICLE III

The contracting parties will contribute to the development and strengthening of economic, cultural and scientific cooperation between the two states, on the basis of the principle of mutual benefit and equal rights.

To implement the present Article, appropriate agreements may be concluded between the contracting parties.

ARTICLE IV

The present treaty shall be subject to ratification. It shall become effective on the date of exchange of instruments of ratification which is to take place in the city of .... in the shortest possible time.

The treaty shall be valid for 20 years from the date of its coming into force. Upon the expiration of the aforesaid period each of the contracting parties shall have the right to denounce it. Such denunciation shall become effective one year from the date on which notice thereof is given.

FLED CHAIN GANG

Willie Reid lawyers in new legal step to bar extradition

WILLIE H. REID, 39-year-old Negro who fled a Florida chain gang in 1952, was arrested in N. Y. City last Feb. 16 and has since been held in the Tombs. Gov. Harriman at Florida's request signed the extradition warrant, but, so far, has been prevented by legal moves from returning Reid to serve 13 more years of his sentence, plus additional time to be fixed as penalty for his escape.

Attorneys Lewis Flagg 3d and Milton H. Friedman are asking an order reopening the hearing "for further evidence." They argue that Reid was not "legally or constitutionally convicted of any offense" in Florida. They are also seeking authorization to "take the depositions" from Florida officials and others involved in the original case.

FLORIDA JUSTICE: A memorandum accompanying the motion states that Reid was arrested early in 1950 without a warrant "and clapped into jail" in Lake County, Fla., charged with assault. The jailer at Reid's request "introduced a white man who may or may not have been a lawyer," but who, posing as one, "received from Reid the $420" the prisoner had when arrested and which "constituted all his worldly goods."

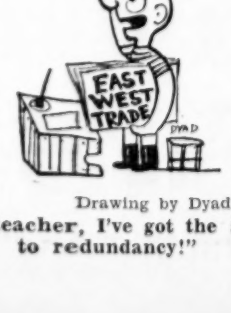
Taken before Circuit Court Judge Truman G. Futch, Reid pleaded not guilty, "although he did not understand the nature of the charge." Florida records say he pleaded guilty but show that Reid had no lawyer. "Consequently, his plea of guilty to the grave charge read to him for the first time . . . has very little legal or constitutional significance above the Mason-Dixon line."

The attorney's memorandum said Reid was never indicted by a grand jury and that neither Burton [the alleged victim] nor any other witness ever confronted Reid." The court acted on information filed March 9, 1950, "the same day Reid is alleged to have pleaded guilty and to have been sentenced to 15 years. . . ."

The Florida court "did not advise Reid of his right to counsel, his right to adjournment, a trial by jury, to subpoena witnesses, to prepare his defense." Lacking any facts, knowing the defendant had not been investigated and had no lawyer, Judge Futch nevertheless "saw fit to pass over all the lighter penalties which might have been appropriate even if Reid were guilty of assault," the memorandum said.

McCALL AGAIN: The notice of motion and the memorandum are supported by an affidavit from Reid's sister, Mrs. Ada Baker. She points out that "his captor is the notorious Willis V. McCall, the backwoods sheriff who shot and killed Samuel Shepherd and almost killed Walter Irvin while taking them to the new trial ordered by the U. S. Supreme Court in the Groveland 'Little Scottsboro Case' [and that] Judge Futch is the same judge who sentenced Shepherd and Irvin to death and Charles Greenlee, 16 years of age, to life imprisonment in that case."

Reid cannot be extradited while the notice of motion to reopen the hearing and to take depositions is pending before the State Supreme Court.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Please teacher, I've got the answer to redundancy!"

CEDRIC BELFRAGE REPORTS FROM THE NORTH OF ENGLAND

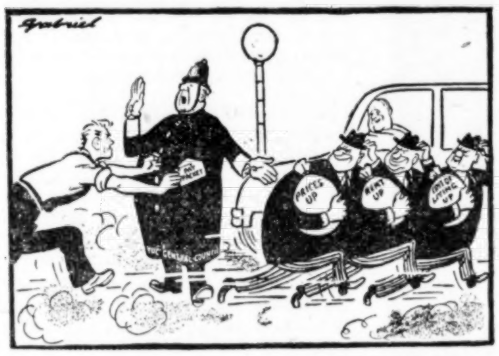
The workers are the majority—but they are not united

By Cedric Belfrage

HULL, England

ELDERLY LABOUR PARTY Councillors relaxing proprietorially in oak-paneled town hall suites, or discussing city business around the "Mayor's table" in a men-only pub saloon—without the Mayor who (in Middlesborough) is a Mayoress. . . . A vast factory (Leeds) in which thousands of men and women piece-workers cut and stitched clothing at feverish speed ("Isn't it wonderful—our girls can make as much as £5 to £6—$14 to $16.50—a week!") . . . Young trade unionists and aging pacifists gathering in bleak halls (Halifax, Hull)—and the faculty of Hull University jamming their "common room"—to hear a British exile from America. . . . The mud and mess of workers' housing projects in construction. . . . A fresh-faced, 15-year-old English girl, recently home from Czechoslovakia with a youth delegation, charging off after school over the Bronte Sisters' moors on a horse; her father, secy. of a workers' social club, planning educational and entertainment programs over strong beer with members of his committee. . . .

Great holes still yawning in mid-city blocks as mementoes of the 1940-41 blitz. . . . Roman remains, 1,000-year-old churches, pub signs pleasantly beckoning in quaintly angled market squares. . . . The ghost of Beau Brummell haunting the desolation of a decayed "spa" in mid-winter. . . . Lords of British industry sipping tea with their starchy-eyed womenfolk in the lounge of a plush-plush city hotel. . . .



Drawing by Gabriel, London

"The time has come for you to stop your mad race, my man!"

LIFE IS STILL MEAGER: These are some impressions of my visit to Yorkshire, largest and one of the most politically decisive of British counties. My main interest was to find out how Britain's working class is doing in a key industrial area; and what the prospects are for united working class action in an overwhelmingly Labour Party stronghold. On the second point, a second article.

The betterment of British workers' life since the war is apparent everywhere. Acres of new housing stand as monuments to the "welfare state" established by the Labour government in London, which subsidized them, and the Labour town councils which built them. Many of the houses have TV aerials, and the workers and their families queuing up for buses into town appear "adequately" fed and clothed.

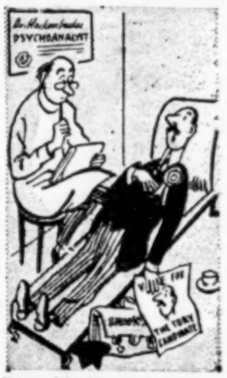
Yet the improvement only underlies the continuing meagerness of the workers' portion in an era of potential plenty for all. Some sobering facts are:

- The new housing is but a token of what is needed in these areas run down by generations of Tory neglect. In badly-blitzed Hull, for example, the town council has built 1,000 houses a year since the war but the waiting list of 15,000 families has not been reduced to this day; in addition, 35,000 slum houses still need replacing.
- The average real basic wage (excluding miners and farm workers) has risen very little since 1938. Improved living standards are due to more than one member of a family working, and to overtime which (said a union official) is "now an accepted part of the workers' economy. They come home exhausted, but most of them won't look at a job where they can't get Sunday work."
- If workers have shoes for their kids and a small "luxury" or two (but never anything so grand as a car), it is by virtue of the "club check" system of running into debt. In Middlesborough 80% of business is done by this system of checks advanced by "club traders" who get from the seller 12½% of the price, from the buyer 5% interest on monthly payments.
- "None of the workers," said a Labour Councillor, "can afford to buy a house, and those who are struggling to do so yearn to rent a Council house but can't get one. In any case, even the rents of Council houses are too high."

THE CAUSE OF DISUNITY: Today, as the workers are just beginning to live rather than merely exist, the battle-lines are everywhere being drawn for a showdown with the Tory philosophy that they already have too much. The first fruits of this philosophy are apparent in the contrast between more recent housing developments, slashed of all "extras," social centers and other community facilities, but renting for more than the better houses built under Labour. Now the impending withdrawal of subsidies faces town councils with the need either to stop building and keep raising rents, or to stand and fight the Tories with Labour's rank and file.

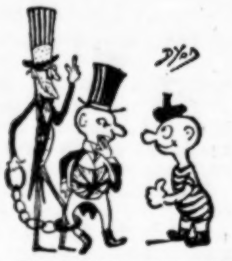
The tragedy is that whereas in France and Italy the workers have the unity but not the majority needed to succeed in such a fight, in Britain—where workers are the majority of the population—they are not united. The direct cause of their disunity is the right-wing leadership of their own Labour Party and biggest unions. The party leaders' advice to town councils is, in effect, to surrender to the Tory pressure to cut standards by raising rents.

SOCIALISM'S A GOOD WORD: Yet feeling among the workers is beginning to run so high that Labour's right-wingers are on the spot, in danger of losing control. In Leeds the local party's proposal for $1 weekly rent hikes roused the fury of the Trades Council (joint body of local unions) and such a popular groundswell that the rent-hike plan has been cut in half. In Hull rents have not been raised. In Middlesborough a raise of only sixpence is under discussion. Nevertheless town council budgets must somehow be balanced.



Reynolds News, London

"I've a strange feeeling of not being wanted, doctor!"



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Got a hacksaw, chum?"

The striking contrast with U. S. industrial centers is the dominance, almost everywhere here, of a workers' political party—a movement pledged to "socialism," no matter how the Gaitskells may seek to re-interpret that good fighting word. In many industrial and mining communities it is such that the Tories do not even run parliamentary candidates, creating in effect a one-party system; in most, Labour wins every election and town council control by overwhelming majorities.

But it is just such safe-seat plums that the party hierarchy hands to right-wingers who might be defeated where the contest with the Tories is closer. Thus the Labour majority in Leeds, a militant workers' community, is represented in Parliament by right-wingers (Gaitskell himself is one), none of whom are natives or residents of the place.

THEY RESENT AMERICA: The essential fight is within the Labour Party; the problem, to throw out the right-wing pie-cards and elect Labour representatives that will speak for Labour. The whole development of the British Labour movement makes this far from simple. The workers take pride in it as something of their own, and are susceptible to the insinuations of "outside interference" contained in the right-wingers' warnings about "reds and fellow-travelers." Thus militancy is "officially" made to appear suspect.

But speaking to Yorkshire workers on "Understanding America" has shown me another side of this feeling. They resent nothing so much as the interference by America—which they identify with capitalism in a most reactionary form—with the British majority will for socialism. In all of the series of meetings, your deported editor found himself defending America against audience hostility, explaining the difference between Joe McCarthy and Joe Doakes.

In a group of Labour Councillors with whom I visited at the town hall here, one old fellow made an oration compounded of plugs for the town to erect a statue to Robinson Crusoe, denunciations of Khrushchev for "shooting 200 Ukrainians in the back," and defense of America. He had a daughter who lived most happily in Milwaukee, he said. While the others joshed him, a rough-hewn Councillor and union leader kept repeating fervently to me:

"We won't be the 49th state. No, we'll never be the 49th state."

THE HERITAGE OF COLONIALISM

Why the Bombay riots took place

THE RECENT VIOLENT RIOTING in India's industrial city of Bombay was part of the price Indians have been paying for their previous colonial bondage.

India is a multi-lingual country, with well-developed regional languages. Before the British came, homogeneous linguistic and cultural groups lived in well-defined territories. In forming provincial administrative units during the piecemeal conquest of India, the British government ignored the linguistic territorial boundaries, lumped into each of several provinces peoples speaking different languages. Fomenting rivalries among the different language groups, favoring one against the others, was one of the ways the British used to maintain their power.

PLEDGED BY ALL: All Indian political parties during their struggle for freedom pledged to unscramble the mess Britain had created, to restore territorial integrity to the different linguistic groups. Popular demand for the fulfillment of this pledge has been growing ever since India became free.

On the basis of a two-year study by a states reorganization commission's report—modified by the ruling Congress Party's Working Committee—the Nehru government last fall presented a plan to divide India into 16 states, 14 to be linguistically homogeneous. One was to be the state of Maharashtra for the Marathi-speaking people, with Bombay as its leading city. The one million Maharashtrians in Bombay, mostly textile workers, are the largest single linguistic group, forming 46% of the city's population.

CHANGED THE PLAN: But Bombay's industrialists are mainly people who speak Gujerati. They are strongly represented in the local as well as in the Central government in New Delhi. Knowing that the textile workers are organized in one of India's most powerful and politically articulate trade unions, the Gujerati industrialists were unwilling to risk their future in the hands of a state government to be elected by the Marathi-speaking people.

These industrialists used their considerable influence to persuade the central government to declare that Bombay would remain separate from Maharashtra, and would be administered federally, like Washington, D. C. This declaration precipitated the Bombay riots, which began as peaceful demonstrations by the Marathi-speaking textile workers with wide popular support but erupted into violence through police provocation.

Contrary to U.S. press propaganda, the riots were not instigated by Communists. The textile workers had the support of most political parties, including the Maharashtrians in the Congress Party, who were forced to withdraw their resignations of protest by the threat of expulsion from the party.

PRESS DISTORTS: Putting together the territorial jigsaw puzzle left as a British colonial legacy is undoubtedly a difficult though necessary task. In the process of redrawing India's map many toes will be stepped on, including those of the vested interests. The Nehru government, although still insisting that Bombay should be a federally administered city, has decided to maintain the status quo for the time being, and is considering other methods of dividing India into more efficient administrative zones.

This is a domestic problem which India will undoubtedly take in its stride as part of its growing pains. It is being misinterpreted and given undue play in the American press because of India's refusal to fall in line with Washington's foreign policy. The mass demonstrations in Bombay and in other parts of India demanding the territorial rights of people who share the same language and culture show not disunity but the increasing political, social and economic maturity of the Indians.

—K. G.

Miss Strong to talk in San Francisco

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, ace reporter, author and commentator, will speak in San Francisco Feb. 17, at 8 p.m. in the Panel Room, 150 Golden Gate Av., on the subject, "What Happened in India . . . for Soviet-Asian Friendship and World Peace?"

Her lecture is being sponsored by the American Russian Institute. Tickets are available at the Institute office, 90 McAllister St., at 50c.

THE SWING IS CAUTIOUSLY LEFT

Italy today: a land of deceptive calm

By "La Scolta"

Special to the Guardian

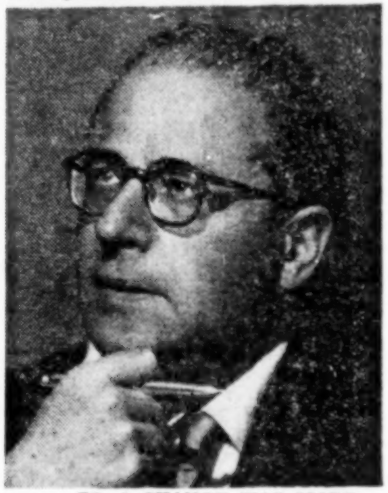
ROME

TO THE CASUAL political observer, Italy appears to be a land where little is happening. Compared with the turbulent events of recent years, the nation today seems almost passive.

Who can forget the massive strikes of a few years ago, the great political demonstrations that showed the power and solidarity of the Italian working class? In July, 1948, when Togliatti was seriously wounded by an assassin, the workers seized power in many cities. Revolutionary committees ran the local administrations for several days until ordered by their leaders to give up control.

THE HAND-KISSING BECAME JUST A BIT TOO MUCH . . .

Scelba as Premier greets Mrs. Luce, the U. S. Ambassador



. . . SO A CHANGE WAS MADE

President Giovanni Gronchi

Yet, beneath today's seeming serenity, things are happening. Especially since the Scelba government forced the European Defense Community pact through Parliament in November, 1954, a steady shift in political alignment has become apparent.

GRONCHI EMERGES: Reaction to EDC was not the single issue that forced Scelba to resign as Prime Minister; but his "cupidigia di servilismo" (craving for servility) to American foreign policy caused many defections within the government coalition.

Half a year later balloting took place in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate for a new Italian President. In June, 1955, Giovanni Gronchi, astute, clever and politically independent, emerged as Italy's second President. Gronchi, a Christian Democrat, was violently opposed by many in his own party—by Scelba, who was still Prime Minister; Fanfani, the party leader, and others who wanted a more conservative Christian Democrat. It took a week, but almost the entire government coalition (Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, Liberals and Republicans), with Communist-Socialist support, gave Gronchi an overwhelming vote.

When Scelba finally resigned in July, 1955, to avoid being thrown out, Antonio Segni, a left-wing Christian Democrat, became Prime Minister. Minister of Agriculture in De Gasperi's cabinet, Segni was known as the father of the land distribution plan for Italy's land-hungry peasants.

THE TWO MEN: Together, Gronchi and Segni are the chief figures in Italy's most liberal-minded government in many years.

Gronchi's predecessor was a distinguished figurehead; Gronchi carries out his duties as President in an active and aggressive manner. Segni's predecessor dominated the government but he is a retiring figure.

Gronchi, who comes from poor origins in Tuscany, has a history of anti-fascist activity and has been friendly with Pietro Nenni, leader of the Italian Socialist Party. Last November, when Nenni returned from China, he met often with Gronchi; as a result of these sessions, early Italian-Chinese trade talks have been scheduled.

Segni, himself a moderately wealthy land-owner, is not much in favor with the Center or Right of his own party. But his staying power is enhanced by the support of the powerful Communist-Socialist 37% of the Chamber.

THE MAIN SUPPORT: Segni's cabinet, for the most part, looks like Scelba's. The government coalition remains essentially the same as before. Thus one striking fact emerges: **although there has been a leftward shift from the Scelba government, it has taken place entirely within the framework of the existing party alliance and no political re-groupment is believed possible in the present Parliament.**

Many in the present coalition dislike Segni and keep their posts to keep the government as conservative as possible. This is particularly true of the grossly-misnamed Liberals.

It has been said that Segni is about as far Left as the present Italian Parliament will stand. Although he has the loyalty of most of the government coalition, his strongest support comes from the more liberal Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats and the Marxist Left. Because of this, his government has made some concessions to the Left—even to the Communists and Socialists—to keep their support.

This, in turn, presents a problem for the Communists and Socialists. Since the Segni government is basically capitalistic, Catholic and centerist, they can not give it uncritical support. Indeed, they have attacked the government, on labor disputes, wage demands and on social questions.

BOTH SIDES MANEUVER: In the next months, measures coming before Parliament (controls over industry, nationalization of petroleum, land reform) will be sure to engender forceful argument from the Left. But the Left is careful in its attack. The conservatives would grab the chance to call for Segni's resignation on the grounds that his government could not cope with conditions. The Marxist Left, on the other hand, does not want the Segni government to fall because the alternative probably would be the return of a Scelba.

The situation is demonstrated on the right by the obstructionist role of Treasury Minister Gava in the government's attempt to handle wage demands by state workers. Gava, a political ally of Scelba and Pella (leader of the right-wing Christian Democrats), is pushing for a crisis that might topple Segni.

It was demonstrated on the Left during the threat by the railway workers to strike over wages last Christmas. The government stalled; but the left-wing unions, instead of using their full strength as they would have a few years ago, maneuvered within Parliament and finally effected a settlement.

AND THE MASSES? This kind of parliamentarianism has led to a marked decrease in dynamic political action for which the Italian Left has been noted. How this has affected their contacts with the masses is being seriously examined by the Communist and Socialist Parties.

The next important test of Italian political strength will be the municipal and county elections next spring. At present no one is predicting any radical changes in the present party line-ups. Between now and then, however, the Chamber of Deputies will take up Italy's most pressing problems—and plenty of campaign material will emerge.

One complex issue is a proposal for a special ministry to supervise industry, regulate government controls and investments in Italian industry and deal with foreign capital. Several years ago, the government started oil explorations in Sicily. After much costly work with no result, the explorations were leased to American companies; almost immediately they found rich petroleum deposits. This has the making of an international scandal, and may still develop into one. The proposed new ministry would have this problem tossed into its lap.

THE AGRARIAN PACTS: Another problem is I. R. I. (Instituto per la Reconstruzione Italiano), an involved structure of government-owned, licensed and supported industries. There has been much debate as to how far the government should go in owning, operating or financing industry.

In general, the Italian government today owns the railroads, power, a sizeable share of shipbuilding and navigation, and other industries. It is part-owner of a number of machine-tool and heavy industries, and has government funds invested in textiles, mining, etc.

The third big problem is the agrarian pacts. The system of "mezzadria," or sharecropping, is very widespread in the north and central parts of Italy. Regulations controlling the relationship of the land-owners and workers, division of the crops, taxes, etc., have been in existence for 100 years—with more added all the time. The whole mass has become unwieldy and contradictory, and a thorough revision is necessary. And, because much of Italy is still based on an agrarian economy, the issue is bound to be explosive.

MANY VICTORIES RECORDED

Bill of Rights Fund grants in 1956 total $30,000 for 50 crucial cases

THE BILL OF RIGHTS FUND, an organization to give financial assistance to key civil liberties cases, gave more than $30,000 in grants during the past year, it was announced today by Dr. Corliss Lamont, chairman.

The annual report reviewed only 10 of the 50 cases aided, including assistance in the case of the legless veteran, James Kutcher, dismissed from his Veterans Administration job for membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

The fund also gave $1,000 to Prof. Otto Nathan of New York Univ., executor of the estate of the late Albert Einstein, in his successful fight for a passport. A $1,000 grant went to help Steve Nelson, Pennsylvania Communist leader, towards his appeal from a conviction under the State's anti-sedition law, now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

A grant of $250 went to Prof. Robert Metcalf of Antioch, who refused to answer what he termed improper questions asked by the House Un-American Activities Committee, and who later won his case. A $500 grant helped eight soldiers who sued the Army because they were threatened with undesirable discharges for their activities before Army induction; and $1,000 went to four New York City teachers who lost their jobs for refusing to obey the new regulation requiring them to become informers. The Fellowship of Humanity, Oakland, Calif., a religious group, got $250 for its suit against discriminatory taxation.

A partial list of other grants follows:

1. $1,000 to the Americans and Others United for Separation of Church and State, to aid in its campaign to uphold the First Amendment provision guaranteeing separation of church and state.

2. $1,000 economic-aid grant to Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky. The Bradens were indicted for sedition under an old untested Kentucky sedilaw which had been passed during the Palmer Raid days following the First World War. Braden, who is appealing his sentence of 15 years and fine of $5,000, is now free in $40,000 bail.

3. $250 to Californians for the Bill of Rights, a Pacific Coast civil liberties group, which is contesting Atty. Gen. Brownell's listing of it as "subversive."

4. $250 to philosopher-professor Barrows Dunham, formerly of Temple Univ. Dunham was indicted for contempt of Congress after his appearance before the House Un-American Activities Committee, where he pleaded the Fifth Amendment almost immediately on being questioned. In 1955 a Federal judge acquitted Dunham of contempt.

5. $500 to Edward J. Fitzgerald, who is challenging the constitutionality of the Immunity Act of 1954.

6. $500 to David Hyun, Korean architect jailed under the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act and threatened with deportation to South Korea where he faces government prosecution and possible death.

7. $1,000 to the Jefferson School of Social Science for its appeal from an order of the Subversive Activities Control Board to register as a Communist front under the Internal Security Act.

8. $100 towards the legal defense of Dr. Leon J. Kamin, formerly on the staff of Harvard Univ., who relied on the First Amendment in refusing to answer questions asked him by the McCarthy Committee. In December, 1955, Kamin was acquitted of contempt of Congress.

9. $750 towards the legal defense of Alfred Marder, Connecticut Smith Act victim. He is contesting his prosecution on the grounds that an impartial jury trial is impossible since the Communist Control Act of 1954 states that there is definitely a Communist conspiracy.

10. $500 towards the legal defense of William Price, a member of the Newspaper Guild who pleaded the First Amendment before Senator Eastland's Subcommittee on Internal Security. For invoking his constitutional rights Mr. Price was dismissed by the **Daily News.**

THE MOSCOW-PEKING EXPRESS

A fantasy becomes a reality in the great Gobi Desert

By Israel Epstein
Special to the Guardian

ULAN BATOR
Mongolian Republic

IN NEW YORK during one of the earlier "freeze" periods of the Cold War. I heard a very impressive broadcast Norman Corwin did for the UN. It was an imaginative description of a friendly international offensive by highly mechanized construction columns to reclaim the Sahara Desert and subject it to the will of man. The whole thing was fine and inspiring: a brave story to tell at that grim time. But, sadly, it was all fantasy.

Now, here in the Mongolian People's Republic, this thing has happened. It took place not in the Sahara but in the world's other great desert—the Gobi, a huge, windy, virtually unpeopled waste where winter temperatures drop to 52 degrees below zero and summer heat soars to 130 in the shade.

The result: I was able to travel, where only a rare horseman or camel drover passed before, over the new trans-Mongolian railway, a section of the new Moscow-Peking line that is now the shortest route between Europe and the Far East.

BRAND-NEW TOWNS: Along its length, in the recent void of the Gobi, I saw new settlements that were not here at all three years ago. Each of these new-born towns already has more than 5,000 people. Each has schools, a theater, hospital, post-office, electric power station and other public utilities, and—that miracle in the desert—high water towers fed from deep artesian wells. Nomadic herdsmen come here to water their cattle. The first irrigated crops have been planted and harvested. The desert is being rolled back.

Corwin was right in his vision. Such a piercing of nature's embargoes on human activity can only come about by international co-operation, by full use of modern science and techniques. In this case, the co-ordinated effort was that of the peoples and governments of the Soviet Union, China and Mongolia. Soviet industry supplied the excavators, bulldozers, scrapers and dump-trucks, the rail-laying machines and pre-fabricated sections of buildings. On the stretch of the railway within Mongolia, 98% of the earth work and all the laying of rails and ties were fully mechanized. This was the "dead heart of Asia." It throbs with life now.

INTO THE ANCIENT PAST . . .
Herders reading a pictorial

. . . RIDES THE SHINY DIESEL
A vacuum cleans the new train

AND THEY OWN IT: Independent Mongolia has under a million people and over 26,000,000 cattle, in a territory the size of Germany, Britain, France and Italy combined. To this predominantly pastoral but well-educated and progressive nation, the new railway is a gift and a boon. It is not a foreign line running through the Mongolians' territory; it is now their property from border to border—680 miles of it.

Some of the heavy-duty locomotives (this modern line is all Diesel) already have Mongolian engineers, yesterday's herdsmen assiduously trained while construction was proceeding. Others have Mongolian assistant engineers, getting ready to take over soon from their Soviet teachers. I saw Mongolian train-dispatchers, conductors, telegraphists, switchmen. Altogether, 2,000 skilled railwaymen of various kinds have been trained. This is the socialist way.

At Khara-Airik, I ran into a young Soviet specialist, a Ukrainian, whose home railway is the Odessa-Kishinev line. "Our chief job here," he told me, "is to ensure safe operation of the newly-built line, complete the training of Mongolian personnel and go home."

EXAMPLE OF BROTHERHOOD: A grizzled Armenian engineer related the hazards of railway building over permafrost, amid the unparallelled fluctuations of temperature, and said that problems had been met and solved to which there was no guide in previous practice or literature. Another Russian builder said to me: "Send our friendly greetings to U. S. railwaymen. Say they came through a railwayman from Moscow. Don't forget." I was most strikingly impressed, among these men, by the fact that the Soviet Union is itself an example of brotherhood among nationalities. The machine-mounted pioneers who opened the Gobi included Georgians, Kazakhs, Latvians, Jews.

Going from car to car of a transit train bound for China, I found that the ultra-modern passenger cars with their one-piece steel shells and fine internal fittings had been made by the Wilhelm Pieck Works in East Germany. The big cases on the flats included machinery and vehicles from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania. "One such 1,500-ton train," Mongolia's Transport Minister S. Yadamsuren told us, "carried as much cargo as far in 1½ days as it would have taken 10,000 camels a month and a half to carry before."

WHAT IT WILL MEAN: He stressed the significance of the line not only in supplying Mongolia and enabling her to export her own products, but also in the transit fees which would help finance her development. And he noted two other important aspects of the railway: (1) that it made complete nonsense of any imperialist attempt to blockade China; (2) by increasing transport capacity among Asia's independent nations, it was a new power against colonialism. He hoped, he said, that it would be used to help trade with Viet-Nam (to which one can already go directly by rail), India and Indonesia.

The arch under which this railway passes at Zamen-Ude bears the Mongolian inscription, "Heherudin Zam," which means "Road of Friendship." Thence it enters another section of the Gobi, in China's Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, at another new town, Erhlien. The builders of the Chinese stretch have done as thorough a job as those on the other side. At Tsining, the junction with China's main railway network, the population has grown, since 1952, from 20,000 to 80,000, and new industries are arising.

THE HOOVER-HOWARD EXCHANGE

'The kind of justice that permits murderers to go free and boast'

DR. T. R. M. HOWARD, of all-Negro Mound Bayou, Miss., won national attention when he had Negro reporters round up witnesses and information—none of which the prosecution used—in the Emmett Till murder case. He became in effect the leader of Mississippi resistance to racism following his address before an NAACP rally last Sept. 25 in Baltimore. There Dr. Howard, who is chief surgeon of the Mound Bayou Friendship Clinic, president-elect of the Natl. (Negro) Medical Assn., and head of the NAACP in Mississippi, repeated eye-witness accounts of the Till lynching, gave a background picture of terror in his state, and was quoted as declaring:

> "It is getting to be a strange thing that nothing happens when colored people are murdered in the South. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, with all its knowledge, with all its power, can never work out who the killer is when a colored person in the South is the victim. Something is wrong somewhere, and I believe that there is enough wrong that the President of the United States, the Atty. General, and J. Edgar Hoover must be called into conference to see why Southern investigators of the department can never solve the crime when there's a black man involved."

HOOVER REPLIES: Last week FBI director Hoover wrote Dr. Howard an angry letter which reached the wire services and the Southern press 12 hours before it reached Dr. Howard. Hoover wrote:

> "This bureau is doing everything within the scope of existing legislation in civil rights matters, and our fair and prompt investigations have done much to increase public respect for and consciousness of civil rights.
>
> "You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau, which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and, also, was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the KKK in the Carolinas and Georgia.
>
> "If you have information of such a grave dereliction of duty, then it is your duty to call it to the attention of the responsible officials of the FBI or Dept. of Justice.
>
> "If you were interested in the truth as to how this bureau has discharged its responsibility in any area, you would have made inquiry through responsible channels . . . before making your intemperate and baseless charges."

OUT IN THE OPEN: Dr. Howard, in a reply letter, said that on Jan. 18 he was called by the Memphis **Commercial Appeal** for comment on the Hoover letter. Not having received it, he said he could only "presume" that the FBI had released the letter "prior to the time it possibly could have reached me" and that Hoover desired the matter "to become an issue in the area of public controversy." Therefore, following Hoover's example, Dr. Howard released his letter to the press.

It reviewed the murders of J. W. Lee, LaMar Smith and Emmett Till last year in Mississippi; noted that J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant in **Look** (1/4) "explained . . . that they did kill" young Till; called attention to the fact that "there has been no move to take any further proceedings against them, as far as I know." Dr. Howard said his criticism was "a reflection of the feelings of the many thousands of persons with whom I have talked in the past few months." Of the Lee murder, he wrote:

> "A Negro citizen who sought to vote was murdered and both state and federal governments have declined to take any action. I do not know upon what grounds the Dept. of Justice declined jurisdiction. I do know that I sent a telegram to the Dept. of Justice asking for a conference on these matters and received an answer some four weeks later stating that such a conference would be arranged. No date was set for that proposed meeting."

WHAT REALLY DID IT: Dr. Howard said Hoover might claim that his FBI had ended lynching, but that he himself believed "lynching was eliminated and the KKK broken up by persistent action by the NAACP and by an aroused public opinion." He could not recall a prosecution of lynching, "as such," by the federal government and noted that prosecution would be undertaken only after investigation and recommendation of the FBI. Since there is no federal anti-lynch law, he said, prosecution would be up to the States. He said:

> "In view of that fact, I do not understand how the FBI was able to take effective action to 'virtually eliminate' lynching in light of your statement that the Dept. of Justice can act only where federal statutes have been violated. If the federal government was able to act in the same area of lynching in the absence of a federal anti-lynching statute, is it possible to undertake similar action in the J. W. Lee, LaMar Smith and Emmett Till cases in light of a similar claimed lack of applicable federal statutes?"

WHY, ISN'T THAT WHATZISNAME?
Nobody, but Joe. This is the way he looked at a recent N. Y. appearance.

Dr. Howard regretted Hoover's missing the chance, in a widely publicized letter, to condemn these murders. That could have done much "to halt this wave of violence," he said. In the meantime, the physician declared, he would keep on—"with the millions of other Americans"—crying out against "that kind of administration of justice which permits murderers to go free to boast of their crimes."

Patronize GUARDIAN Advertisers

THE GIVEAWAY PROGRAM

Oregon timber inquiry goes on; Cuban nickel scandal exposed

WHILE Democratic Congressional leaders were trying to put over a natural gas steal last week under the big top in Washington, two minor sideshows were going on which were knocking more holes in the Eisenhower Crusade.

One was a continuing probe of the Al Sarena Mines, Inc., by a joint Congressional subcommittee headed by Sen. W. Kerr Scott (D-N. C.) who said his purpose was

> ". . . to determine why—and upon whose orders—good judgment and normal procedures were thrown out the window in order to bestow upon Al Sarena Corp. one-half million dollars worth of public property."

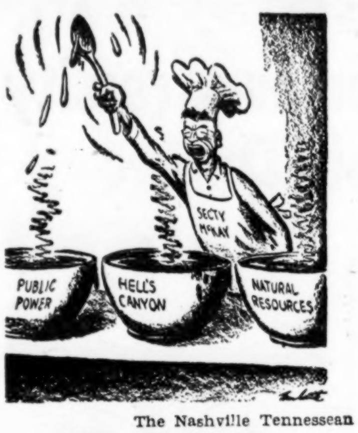
Interior Secy. Douglas McKay's predecessor had turned down Al Sarena's bid for mining tracts in Oregon's Rogue River National Forest on the ground that ore samples didn't show enough mineral content to justify mining operations. When McKay took office, the McDonald family of Mobile, Ala., was awarded the coveted land under odd circumstances. In the two years since the award the company has done no mining but has cut 2,600,000 feet of lumber from a timber stand variously estimated as worth from $250,000 to more than $600,000.

THE FIRST BYPASS: Chief Forester Richard E. McCardle testified last week that for the first time in his 32 years with the service, the Interior Dept. had bypassed him and sent the case to its own Bureau of Mines with the further unusual instruction that the ore samples be assayed by someone "mutually acceptable" to the Bureau and the company.

Although the Bureau of Mines maintains its own major assay laboratory at Albany, Ore., only 200 miles from the Rogue River area, the ore samples were shipped all the way to Mobile, Ala., where they were assayed by a personal friend of the McDonald family. An expert mining engineer, appearing as a witness last week, testified that the assays on which the award was made were among the poorest he had ever seen, and that they showed a mineral content of only one-tenth the amount necessary to make mining profitable.

The subcommittee earlier had turned up evidence indicating that Clarence Davis, Interior Dept. solicitor at the time the award was made and now Under Secretary, granted the award even before he received the assay reports. Last week a Department witness testified that he had reported the findings to Davis by phone from Oregon, and produced a letter written at the time to back up his statement. But Sen. Scott charged that the letter had been "doctored": the key paragraph was the last in the letter, was typed in lighter ink than the others, and bore discrepancies indicating it was written on a different typewriter. He turned the document over to the FBI for a report on "how much it's been doctored, if any."

OLD ALABAMA WAY: Davis himself took the stand and insisted that the award was "my decision—and I will stand by it." He told of repeated intercessions on behalf of the McDonalds, first by Rep. Frank W. Boykin (D-Ala.) and by Rep. Harris Ellsworth (R-Ore.) after the Republicans took over. A sample of the Boykin pleading was introduced in the form of a letter dated June, 1951, in which he said he was dictating it "before daylight" with the help of two members of the McDonald family. He wrote of them:



The Nashville Tennessean
COME AND GET IT!

> "They are all just fine, good, true, great Americans, that have lived within just a few blocks of me all of their lives, right in Mobile, Ala. They don't want the timber—only what they will need in the development of the mine, which of course, they should have. And they will deed the timber back. . . . I shall deeply appreciate your looking at this, just in a good old Texas or Alabama practical way. And if there are any little technicalities, let's knock them out of the way. . . ."

"DEAR DOUG": On Jan. 26 columnist Drew Pearson reported that in the Senate Interior Committee files "is an interesting letter":

> "It's a letter from a friend of President Eisenhower's addressed to him, asking that the Al Sarena section of the Rogue River National Forest be released to the McDonald family. Across the letter in his own handwriting President Eisenhower had scribbled 'Dear Doug.' Then followed a personal request from Ike to Doug to see what he could do about granting the Rogue River request."

Next day White House press secretary James C. Hagerty angrily denied the existence of such a letter:

> "The story is a complete falsehood and in my opinion a scurrilous lie."

Said Pearson:

> "I am confident that time will prove the facts I reported in the Rogue River National Forest case . . . to be accurate."

A LOT OF NICKEL: Meanwhile a House Subcommittee on Special Government Activities headed by Rep. Jack Brooks (D-Tex.) was looking into the financial operation in a $43,000,000 expansion program for a $100,000,000 government-owned nickel plant in Nicaro, Cuba. The plant is run by the General Services Administration, headed by Edmund F. Mansure. An officer of one of the construction firms involved in the expansion project testified that Mansure had recommended a Chicago brokerage firm to handle some of the insurance connected with the project.

The brokerage firm is headed by William J. Balmer and Edward F. Moore, top Republican leaders in Cook County. They and Mansure are reportedly old political pals of 30 years standing, and it was Balmer and Moore who recommended Mansure for his present post.

FAILING MEMORY: But Mansure denies he recommended the Balmer firm on the grounds that he "wouldn't be that stupid" and insists that he didn't even know Balmer was connected with a brokerage firm. But when Balmer was asked directly if he was tipped off to the business by Mansure, he replied: "I don't remember."

During the course of the hearings the committee learned that all of the construction contracts connected with the project are under study by the FBI. Rep. Brooks said he also wants to know why the Balmer firm was chosen when it "apparently isn't even licensed to do business as brokers in Cuba."

Natural gas story

(Continued from Page 1)

Debate was expected to continue at least another week. Douglas pointed out that only 190 big producers sell 90% of all natural gas to the pipelines, and that 29 of the very biggest companies sell two-thirds of all the gas. He estimated that, without controls, they would "gouge" consumers of $600,000,000 yearly in their gas bills while increasing vastly the value of their gas reserves. He said:

> "The issue before us is whether the interests of wealth and power are to run our government or whether our government is to be run in the interest of the public."

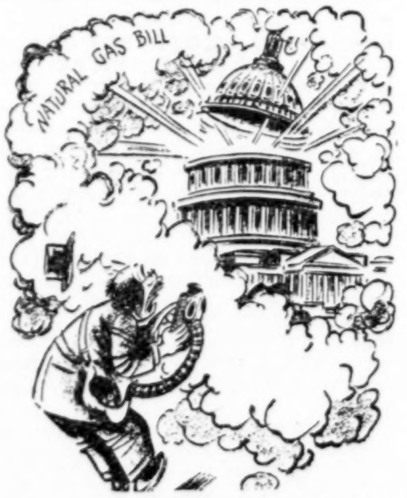
Backers of the measure argue that price controls at the well-head are not needed because competition would keep prices down; that with strict controls companies wouldn't be willing to undertake the risk of searching for new wells which in turn would lead to an eventual scarcity and a consequent rise in prices anyway.

OPPOSITION GROWS: Opponents scoff at these claims, point out that the industry operates as a monopoly with captive customers, and are already more than well paid for any risk of search with the industry's 27½% tax allowance for depletion.

Last week popular opposition to the bill was stepping up in spite of less-than-adequate press coverage of the debate in the Senate. On Jan. 24 **Labor's Daily** printed a long letter from Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.) in which he said of the measure:

> "I believe its enactment would be highly detrimental to the interests of the people of the United States and of the people of Missouri. The primary beneficiaries of this bill would be a small group of large oil companies."

On Jan. 25 New York's Mayor Wagner, speaking as chairman of a committee of 259 mayors formed to fight the bill, called for its defeat and denounced the natural gas industry (sixth largest in the country) as a monopoly.



Herblock in Washington Post
"WOW!"

USE AN OLD RECEIPT: The labor publication **The Machinist** said:

> "Unfortunately, if the bill passes we're going to have to pay the higher prices—or turn off the gas. All we can do by way of protest is to mark our ballot next November. Meantime, we can send a note to our Senators and Congressmen, putting them on warning. Just a few lines across the face of an old gas receipt should do it."

As the debate went on the White House remained non-committal on the issue, although in the past President Eisenhower has hinted that he might sign the bill if it passes. Observers were confident that a strong stand by the President against the bill would swing enough Republican votes to insure its defeat.

Even with price controls as they now exist the oil industry wasn't hurting. The research department of the AFL-CIO oil union reported that the industry's profits have doubled in the last six years and that in 1954 the oil industry made 17% of all the profits made by all corporations in all lines of industry, commerce and trade. The 35 biggest oil companies that year made a net profit of $3,590 for every employe on their payrolls.

THE KWAKS LEAVE THE U. S.

Important new legal issue is raised to block Juhn deportation to Korea

THE LEGAL QUESTION before an Immigration Dept. hearing in Los Angeles last week was: can the U. S. deport an alien for "entrance without inspection" 36 years ago?

John Juhn fled Korea in 1920 to escape the Japanese then occupying his homeland. He came to the U. S., married a U. S. citizen, but never forgot his country's cause. He battled Syngman Rhee consistently and currently edits the anti-Rhee paper, **Korean Independence.** The Immigration Department is now trying to deport Juhn into Rhee's hands and certain death. The grounds: "Entrance without inspection" 36 years ago.

Until passage of the Walter-McCarran Act the department was bound by the three-year statute of limitations in such cases. The Act wiped that protection out, but a recent ruling of the Sixth Circuit Court held that if an alien was non-deportable at the time the Act was passed (in this case, by reason of the limitations statute) his status would be unchanged.

THE NEW FACTOR: Up to last week Juhn's attorneys Esther Shandler and Herbert Simmons had argued mainly that deportation would mean death in Juhn's case. When they brought in the limitations question last week fresh hopes were raised. The attorneys quickly asked the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington to rule Juhn non-deportable. If the appeal is successful it will lift the deportation shadow from many others.

The Los Angeles hearings last week were barred to the public and press although a large number of prominent educators and representatives of civic organizations had gathered to observe the proceedings. Immigration Dept. attorney Richard Hoy said it was because "the disclosures about to be made at the hearing were of such a nature that Mr. Juhn would prefer they not be made public."

Mr. and Mrs. Juhn at once denied such a preference and joined the demand for open hearings, which was supported by L. A. civil liberties groups.

THE KWAKS DEPART: Another Korean couple flew to safety Jan. 29. Choon Cha and Chungsoon Kwak took off aboard a Sabena Airlines plane for Prague from where they planned to travel to North Korea. Before they left the Kwaks made a farewell statement:

> "Of course we are very glad that we can go home by way of Czechoslovakia. If we had been sent to South Korea our fate would have been obvious. Syngman Rhee's cruelties to his political opponents are well known to all.
>
> "We alone did not win our case. The Committee formed to defend us and the support the people generally gave made it possible for us to be spared deportation into the hands of Rhee. . . .
>
> "It is not entirely without regret that we leave this country for we made deep and lasting friendships here. On the other hand our friends will be heartened knowing we are going to a country where all energies and resources are devoted to peace, a cause in which we, too, will do our utmost."

THE PAPER TIGER COLLAPSES

Dulles' SEATO and METO are dying on their feet-o

By Kumar Goshal

SERIOUS CRACKS have developed in the U.S.-sponsored Middle East Treaty Organization (METO or Baghdad Pact) and South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). They were growing wider even as President Eisenhower in his State of the Union message hailed "Washington's major gains for the system of collective security" and declared that "we must sustain and fortify" them.

But in an uncharacteristic understatement recently, Secy. Dulles reluctantly told Congressional committees that in Asia "we are not as strong in certain areas as we should be."

THE DIVISION IS DEEP: The METO alliance of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Britain has split the Arab world. Adding "little to Western strength," its main result has been "to exacerbate the deep divisions among the Arab states" (**Newsweek**, 1/23). This is the situation among the pact members:

- Turkey is beset with serious internal economic problems that have forced it to turn to Moscow for much needed trade.
- The violent overthrow of Mossadegh and the crushing of the popular Tudeh (Communist) party has failed to stifle opposition to the present pro-U.S. Iranian government. Two weeks ago a firing squad executed four leading members of a Moslem organization accused of plotting an armed revolt against the Iranian Shah (N. Y. **World-Telegram**, 1/18).
- Iraq remains in METO by the grace of aged pro-Western Premier Nuri el Said. METO is so unpopular with the Iraquis that, without Nuri,

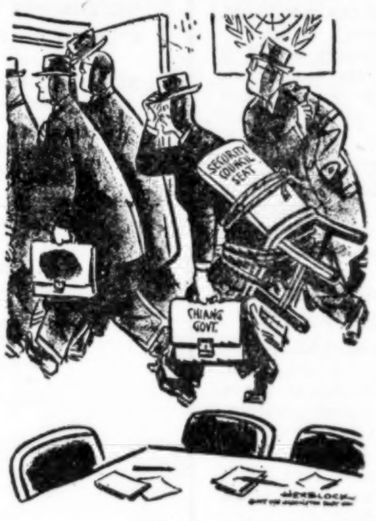
> ". . . Iraq is likely to quit the pact and demand that Britain cede its present bases" (N.Y. **Times**, 11/12/55).

- Pakistan's military alliance with the U.S. "has embittered the relations of that country with its neighbors" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 1/5). The ruling Moslem League's policy-making council is reported considering offering a resolution at its Jan. 29 conference calling for Pakistan's withdrawal from Western-sponsored pacts (**NYT**, 1/3).
- Like Pakistan, SEATO member Thailand is wavering.
- In the Philippines, President Magsaysay's ambitious economic plans have gone awry, and trouble is still brewing over U.S. claims to ownership of land on which its military bases are built.

BOMBSHELLS AND PAPER: Robert Allen reported (N.Y. **Post**, 1/10) "a bombshell message" to Washington from Adm. Radford, warning that Pakistan, Iran and Iraq may quit METO. Columnist Marquis Childs, traveling in Asia, wrote (12/27/55): "SEATO is largely a paper tiger."

Oblivious to the popular groundswell throughout Asia for economic and political independence, the response of Washington and its allies has been more muscle-flexing.

Adm. Radford proposed that Washington make "a public announcement" of "increases in military and economic aid" to Pakistan, Iran and Iraq and openly join METO, presumably to keep the wavering members in line. Britain's response to the Jordanian upheaval—bordering on revolution— was to send more troops to neighboring Cyprus, alerted to protect its interests in Jordan. This added fuel to the Cyprus fire.



Herblock in Washington Post

WILL THE ROPE HOLD?

MORE MALAYA TROUBLE? Reuters reported (11/5/55) that SEATO was building a vast military establishment around the Butterworth Air Base near Penang in the Malayan Federation. Australian, British, New Zealander and Scottish troops were being trained there for emergencies. CSM disclosed (11/5/55) two significant aspects of this build up: (1) Aussies brought there were expected to join other Australian troops now fighting the Malaya liberation army "if local circumstances make this appear logical"; (2) The military base was being built in "territory outside the area defined for protection by the SEATO pact."

On Jan. 20 SEATO military advisers, meeting in Melbourne, Australia, announced agreement on top secret measures to "put teeth" in SEATO (**NYT**, 1/21). This will make SEATO neighbors shudder. For, as Walter Lippmann pointed out (12/29/55), Dulles' Asian pacts already had

> ". . . enough teeth to make their neighbors in the region fear that not the communist countries but they themselves are going to be bitten."

"PERFECT" TIMING: To keep Pakistan in line, U.S. Ambassador Horace Hildreth, in a Pakistan-wide broadcast, warned the nation that neutralism did not pay off in American aid (**NYT**, 1/24). Western envoys at Karachi were reported to have described the timing of Hildreth's warning as "perfect."

Next day Mme. Soong Ching-ling—widow of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen and a deputy chairman of the standing committee of China's Natl. People's Congress—arrived in Karachi after her tour of India. She was greeted at the airport

> ". . . with pomp and ceremony [by] virtually every top government official, including the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister."

A Foreign Office official

> ". . . remarked that he could not recall a warmer reception, even when Vice President Nixon and Secy. Dulles were here in 1953" (**NYT**, 1/25).

DRENCHED IN OIL: The West's continued obsession with military pacts in the Middle and Far East can be understood only in terms of the Western stake there. Admitting that "Western control of the Middle East has never been more shaky," **Business Week**, (1/14) pointed out that "at stake are half the world's oil reserves and the bridge between Europe and Asia." And Hanson Baldwin (**NYT**, 1/5) noted that these regions contain "essential . . . bases, airfields, ports and depots" as well as "Middle Eastern oil."

Nevertheless, people everywhere were beginning to see, as C. L. Sulzberger wrote (**NYT**, 11/12/55), that

> ". . . the U. S. has placed too much reliance in [military] pacts [which] may look impressive to a child with a geography book [but] really doesn't signify much. . . . Pacts that are merely map-making exercises have rarely demonstrated endurance."

God's Heaven

WASHINGTON, D. C. (AP)—Almost all Japanese carry umbrellas these days, an American farm youth just back from Japan said Saturday.

"They're deathly afraid of possible radioactive fallout," said Lane Ellis Holdcroft, Sioux City, Ia.

Des Moines **Register**, 12/18/55.

"OF THAT IS THE KINGDOM OF GOD"

The Abbe explains his vote

Shortly before the recent French elections a Catholic wrote to the Abbe Jean Boulier, one of France's most prominent Catholic clergymen (who is in disfavor with the hierarchy for his frank views), telling him that he had decided to vote Communist and asking for the Abbe's comment. The questioner said in part:

"I choose my deputy as I choose my doctor or my veterinarian or my businessman or my taxi without consulting my bishop. . . . I was in the maquis [the French underground during the Nazi occupation] alongside the Communists. Today my ballot is my machine gun bullet. I will not fire in the air. . . . In a dishonest election I choose the only honest party. I vote communist."

France Nouvelle *(11/23/55) printed the question and the Abbe's answer. Here are excerpts:*

A BALLOT IS NOT a profession of faith. This is my personal response to a political question. I must ask myself how I wish to tip the scale of political forces, change the balance of the parties, shift the voting of the future parliament, how lower the fever, how restore strength to a country that is bled white. . . .

With 200 Communist deputies, no miserable bills for NATO, the Paris accords, the prolongation of the war in Indo-China, the refusal to raise wages, or to finance new housing, or to levy iniquitous taxes could have won the necessary majority. . . . Our misery, the political humiliation of France, come from the votes stolen from the Communists in fraudulent elections.

To vote Communist this time is to understand the necessity to form in Parliament this bloc of 200 votes which, in all balloting, will assure the victory of the left, prevent Mendes-France from submitting to or joining with Faure, Pleven, Pinay or Bidault, will force him at last to consider Thorez and Pierre Cot and the 10 million voters of the left rather than the billions piled up by the banks. . . .

God is not a candidate and everyone must try to forget that Vichy water was once palmed off as holy water. But we, we are always side by side determined to bar the return of the men of Vichy and the policy of Vichy.

ABBE BOULIER

We want a victory of the left. By the treason of some and the stupidity of others, only one way is open to us Jan. 2: vote Communist. I did not invent that way. They wanted it. They shall have it.

I shall vote Communist, therefore. In the balloting I shall set above all else justice for the lowly. Of that is the kingdom of God. And if all Catholics do as I do, all the rest, as the Gospel says, shall be given us in addition.

CELEBRATE!

Songs and Stories of the Volunteers for Liberty

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Admission: 49c, plus a gift of food or clothing for victims of the economic terror in Mississippi.

Auspices: Provisional Committee for Justice in Mississippi
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BOOKS

'The Empire of Oil'— a tale beyond belief

IN HIS BOOK **The Empire of Oil*** Harvey O'Connor has performed a rare feat: he has mapped a world by tracing a continent. His book sets out to survey one industry, oil. It emerges in the end as a picture of capitalism at work.

Anyone who has thought seriously about the American business system has had to consider one question: "Why can't they stabilize?" The building of monopoly has gone on, intensively, year by year, for the better part of 70 years. So why can't the monopolists, with their deadly clutch on whole industries, stabilize the economy? The question can be called naive, but that does not make it easier to answer convincingly. The whole of O'Connor's book is an answer to this question, and as good an answer as has come along.

The book is full of surprises. The reader may remember many details of the rise of the Rockefellers and think therefore he knows about oil. The odds are he doesn't. The fact is the first John D. was eventually put aside in his dotage to play at his curiously bitter and obscene joke of handing out dimes, and the oil industry went on. As O'Connor describes the way the industry did go on, it will be an impervious reader who does not ask himself, "Did they really do that?"

PIRATES ARE TAME: The surprises come from superlatives. Oil creates profits beyond belief and fortunes beyond counting. The oil operators proceed with a rapacity which makes piracy seem mild. The reckless waste of oil reserves in this country would make a buffalo hunter seem like a vegetarian. As for political rapine, nothing like the wonder working of the oil lobbyists has been seen since the days when the railroads owned state legislatures outright.

To the oil industry it has made little difference whether Republicans or Democrats were in office or even whether the Democrat in the White House was named Roosevelt or Truman. And as surprising as anything is the freshness of the story as O'Connor tells it, though most of his American material is based on industry sources or on things seen readily at first hand.

THE LIMITS OF PROOF: The author, of course, is the veteran writer and former editor for the Oil Workers Intl. Union, who tested the First Amendment on his own person before the McCarthy Committee. The style of the book is as unprovocative as a sharp wit and its material will let it be. In fact, O'Connor seems to have gone out of his way to draw no conclusions one step beyond the limits of proof, and he has cited only respectable sources. That is to say, he made every possible concession to respectability short of alteration of the truth. But since the essentials are entirely intact, the commercial publishers rejected the book although in the decade before World War II, they did print O'Connor's books about steel and about the Mellon, Astor and Guggenheim families.

HARVEY O'CONNOR
The facts gush forth

Some readers may want a more specific blueprint for the future than **Empire of Oil** will give them. Probably the author would equally appreciate such a blueprint—and for that matter so would the members of the small, infinitely exclusive club which runs Standard Oil of New Jersey. In every place where men have cracked the earth's crust for oil, monopoly has stalked in among the freebooters.

POWER OF GREED: Yet everywhere, from Texas to Kuwait, from gusher to pipeline to roadside filling station, the same power of greed which spurred the monopolists, also creates a fiery pit of competing forces into which the monopolists may always fall. And the worst threat of all comes from the people of the world who, having watched a few men squander the earth's resources, threaten from time to time to take the remaining resources back.

O'Connor's section on the international oil cartel is skimpier than his treatment of the industry at home. This leaves a number of rock bottom questions, some involving war or peace, to be answered. However, the author can hardly be faulted for this. The oil cartel is undoubtedly the strongest single influence among foreign ministries in capitals from Vienna westward to Manila. Yet the proceedings of the cartel are nearly as secret as the minutes of debate in the College of Cardinals or the U.S. Supreme Court. In any case, the outlines of the cartel appear clearly enough, and the doings of the cartelists make up one of the more lurid parts of O'Connor's book.

Altogether, **Empire of Oil** is exactly what its publishers, Monthly Review Press, called it: one of the few truly first rate books. **—R. S.**

**THE EMPIRE OF OIL, by Harvey O'Connor, Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., New York 14, N. Y. 372 pp. $5.*

Gale Sondergaard in "Woman" Feb. 18

GALE SONDERGAARD, film Academy Award winner and star of many Broadway plays, will present a repeat performance of her widely acclaimed "Woman" at the Assistance League Play House, 1627 North St. Andrews Place, Hollywood, on Feb. 18 at 8:15 p.m.

"Woman" is composed of readings of climaxes from dramatic masterpieces depicting the emergence of woman in the modern era of drama. By joining the most moving moments of many great plays Miss Sondergaard has brought a new excitement to an evening of dramatic reading. Tickets are $1.65.

'Trouble in Mind'

TROUBLE IN MIND, the hit play by Alice Childress, has extended its run at New York's Greenwich Mews Theater, 141 W. 13th St., through Feb. 19 to accommodate public demand and in celebration of Negro History Week.

To mark the season the Photo Workshop will mount its Negro History and Brotherhood exhibit in the theater lobby.

LOS ANGELES

Testimonial Banquet
SAT., FEB. 11 — 8 P.M.
Speakers: **Fred Fine**
Horace Alexander, Chairman for Calif. Smith Act defendants
Park Manor, 607 S. Western
Admission: $15 incl. tax
Ausp.: Calif. Emergency Defense Committee RE 4-7802

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(GUARDIAN, Jan. 2)

"I therefore earnestly commend the issues here at stake to your attention, not only in my own defense, but equally in defense of freedom and the rights of all. Had I not fought for the right as I saw it, I would not now be a defendant in this case."
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Minneapolis, Minn.

Attention all Minnesota GUARDIAN Readers! Save Fri. evening, March 9, for **KUMAR GOSHAL**, World Affairs Editor of GUARDIAN, plus two exclusive films "Bandung Conference" and "Premier Nehru's Visit to USSR." Andrews Hotel. Door contrib. 75c or admission **FREE** for anyone bringing 3 introductory subs or 1 full year sub.

Los Angeles

SAVE THIS DATE—Fri. eve., Mar. 30. **FIRST APPEARANCE FOR GUARDIAN READERS**

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Author of "People of India," "People in Colonies," co-author "20th Century India." World Affairs Editor NATIONAL GUARDIAN, will speak on **"THE WORLD SINCE BANDUNG."** Exclusive films on Bandung Conference and Premier Nehru's Tour of the U.S.S.R. Larchmont Hall, 130 W. Larchmont Av. Door Cont. $1.

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San Francisco

ANNA LOUISE STRONG speaks on "What Happened in India: World Importance of Soviet-Asian Agreements." Fri., Feb. 17, 8 p.m., 150 Golden Gate Av. Tickets now, 50c. American Russian Institute, 90 McAllister St.

New York

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Feb. 13—**What Is the Relation Between Means and Ends?**
Feb. 20—**"Objectivity"** — Aloofness from action?
Feb. 27—**Is Truth Attainable?** (Knowledge, Truth and Scientific Method).
Mar. 5—**Knowing and Acting** — Theory and Practice.

* * *

MODERN NOVEL AS IMAGE OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

Lecturers: **Mr. Francis Bartlett**, psychotherapist; and **Dr. Frederic Ewen**, literary critic. (Both speakers will participate at each session).

Five Thursday evenings, 8:30-10

Feb. 9—**D. H. Lawrence**: "Sons and Lovers."
Feb. 16—**Dostoievsky**: "Crime and Punishment."
Feb. 23—**Andre Gide**: "The Immoralist."
Mar. 1—**Franz Kafka**: "The Trial."
Mar. 8—**Nexo**: "Pelle the Conqueror."

Tuition: $5 for course of 5 sessions (or $1 per session).

MAUD RUSSELL
Editor Far Eastern Reporter
Resident in China 26 years,
will speak on
"CHINESE-SOVIET RELATIONS"
Thursday, Feb. 9—8 P.M.
ADELPHI HALL, Room 10D
74 Fifth Av., near 14th St.

Admission: 75c.
Auspices: Committee of Women, National Council American-Soviet Friendship.

SUN., FEB. 19, 6:30 p.m. Dinner in tribute to **DR. ROYAL W. FRANCE**, Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St. Speakers: Barrows Dunham, Otto Nathan, Frank Donner, Clark Foreman, Guy Emery Shipler. $5 per plate. Reserv.: World Fellowship, 118 E. 28th St., or call MU 5-5245. Auspices: World Fellowship.

DANCING till ——, the best in food, an evening of fun. **SAT., FEB. 4th**, 8:30 p.m., at Lucille's, Apt. 4H, 601 W. 113th St. Cont.: $1.25. Morton Sobell Defense Fund.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

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—The Neighbors

Royal France dinner

A RECEPTION and dinner honoring civil liberties attorney Royal W. France has been announced for Sunday evening, Feb. 19, at the Great Northern Hotel in New York. The tribute, under the auspices of World Fellowship, Inc., will mark the 50th anniversary of Dr. France's admission to the bar.

Reservations at $5 a person are available at the Fellowship's N. Y. office, 118 E. 28th St., Room 703.

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the SPECTATOR

Flickering art

WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENS when a new art is born? Must it struggle without appreciation until a distant posterity recognizes it, or is it welcomed by the people? Are its survival and its qualities affected by other social forces, including politics?

Last December and the coming April mark the anniversaries of a truly "modern" art. The first motion picture within living memory appeared just 60 years ago. The Lumiere brothers presented **The Baby's Meal** along with other brief films to 35 paying guests in the basement of a Paris cafe on Dec. 28, 1895. This was followed shortly by independent developments of continuous-action photographs projected through a "magic lantern" to theater audiences in England and the U. S. The first show here opened on April 23, 1896, at the site now occupied by Macy's store in New York. Among other short shorts (the films ran only a minute or so) the sneeze of one of Edison's assistants, Fred Ott, was featured.

A MUCH-LOVED INFANT: Within 25 years a flood of dramas of homely sentiment and the great silent comedies had appeared in response to worldwide enthusiasm. The supposedly undiscriminating masses cherished the almost formless new art form through its infancy and early maturity.

The themes of the dramas were themes of people's art: romance, family life, concern for children, love of country and struggles against natural and man-made dangers. The themes of the comedies were also socially—and laughably—significant. The people of the whole world guffawed at the Mack Sennett cops, at the prat-falls of the brass-buttoned man with a club, just as they laughed at disconcerted bosses, landlords, politicians and pompous windbags. They cried especially with a little girl named Mary and laughed especially with a little man named Charlie. The people supported the beginnings of a great art and artists from all over the world made America the early Athens of this art.

COLONIES AND MONOPOLIES: Political and economic changes, almost coinciding in time with the birth of the new art, had begun in the U. S. with the organization of the steel, oil and other trusts and our involvement in the Spanish-American War. After World War I, what had been covert policy came into the open: colonies and empire abroad, monopolies at home for everything worth monopolizing, including the mass media and the movies. The little girl gave way in the boom-or-bust atmosphere of the twenties (as in the late forties and now) to the adventuress. The comedians became gagsters or little men to be laughed at, not to laugh with.

Under a monopoly of the production and distribution of the art, the captive audience now has to take what it is given. Any course other than acceptance or staying away in silence is un-American. The people are no longer permitted to snicker at cops or capitalists, for the latter control the art through the former. The Mack Sennett types go on to police the private lives of the artists and they fire, jail or deport non-conformists.

A TRIBUTE IS PAID: In this cultural climate the "industry" met last December to honor its pioneers. "Georges" were awarded in the George Eastman House, Hollywood, to Buster Keaton, Norma Talmadge, Richard Barthelmess, Gloria Swanson, Marshall Neilan, John Ford and Mary Pickford. The event was polite, respectable and spineless until Mary, who was the little girl, said:

> "No one has dared mention his name tonight, but I want to pay tribute to Charles Chaplin, the artist, not the man of politics. And I am sure that wherever he is he's homesick tonight."

According to **Variety,** she received a tremendous ovation when she finished. According to the **Columbia Encyclopedia,** Chaplin is still "considered by many the greatest actor the screen has had." Now the "man of art" is gone, not because he was a "man of politics" but because he was both an artist and a man of the people.

ANOTHER BIG LIE: We hear from the hucksters who "only give 'em what they want" that the people don't like art. We are told by some of the abstracted esthetes that what the people like isn't and couldn't be art. Like other whoppers, these big lies have managed to travel—for a while—faster than the truth.

And we are left wondering whether to laugh or cry over the new art which started with a baby's meal and a mechanic's sneeze and grew up to make us laugh and cry.

—Robert Joyce

Events, Forums, Rallies, Hootenannies — check the GUARDIAN for places to go.